

Message Text

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ACTION INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDA-05 ERDA-05 AF-06

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NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 4330

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM YO

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV POLICY TOWARD THE NPT

REF : STATE 187852

SUMMARY: BRIEF ANSWER TO TWO QUESTIONS POSED REFTTEL IS FIRST THAT YUGOSLAVS DO NOT INTEND WITHDRAW FROM NPT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE, BUT SECOND THAT THEY HAVE ALREADY LAUNCHED MAJOR EFFORT AMONG NON-ALIGNED TO EXERT GREATER PRESSURE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES. DEEP YUGOSLAV CONCERN THAT THE PROMISE OF NPT HAS NOT BEEN FULFILLED AND THAT THEIR OWN SECURITY IS INCREASINGLY THREATENED IN A NUCLEAR PROLIFERATING WORLD HAS LED TO RE-EXAMINATION THEIR POSITION. NATURE OF THEIR CONCERN AND POLICY CONCLUSCRNS THEY HAVE REACHED TO DATE DISCUSSED BY MINIC'S DISARMAMENT ADVISER WITH DCM IN AUG 15 CALL. END SUMMARY.

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1. DCM CALLED ON COL (RET.) KRIVOKAPIC, ADVISER TO THE

SECRETARY FOR DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS, FSFA TO EXPLORE IN
DETAIL YUGOSLAV THINKING ON NPT. AS WE BELIEVE
KRIVOKAPIC'S COMMENTS UNUSUALLY REVEALING NOT JUST ON NPT
BUT ON TOTAL YUGOSLAV APPROACH TO THEIR SECURITY WE SET
FORTH BELOW IN SOME DETAIL.

2. KRIVOKAPIC STATED YUGOSLAV DELEGATION AT REVIEW
CONFERENCE SHARPLY CRITICAL INADEQUACIES IN NPT AS
CONTINUATION OF PRESENT SITUATION WILL LEAD MANY COUNTRIES
TO CONSIDER ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. YUGOSLAVIA NOT A
NUCLEAR STATE AND DOES NOT PLAN BECOME ONE ALTHOUGH IT
HAS REQUISITE TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE.
YUGOSLAVIA AMONG FIRST TO SIGN NPT, BUT NO LONGER POSSIBLE
HOPE IT WILL ACHIEVE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AS NUCLEAR
WEAPONS STATES HAVE CONTINUED INCREASE NUMBER AND
DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF THEIR WEAPONS. SALT NEGOTIATIONS
HOPEFUL BEGINNING BUT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD LIKE SEE CONCRETE
RESULTS. INSTEAD SALT IS ACCEPTING A HIGH-LEVEL OF
NUCLEAR ARMAMENT. CRITICISM FOR THIS MUST BE DIRECTED
AT SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS UNITED STATES. IN ADDITION INCREASE
IN NUMBER NUCLEAR STATES IN RECENT YEARS HAS BOTH
HEIGHTENED INTEREST IN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT COMPLICATED ITS
ACHIEVEMENT AND INCREASED THE DANGERS.

3. IN RESPONSE QUESTION WHQVGOY HAD ANNOUNCED IT IS
REASSESSING RELATIONSHIP TO NPT, KRIVOKAPIC STATED
PERHAPS " REASSESSMENT" MISCONSTRUES SERBO-CROATIAN TERM
"PREISPITATI" WHICH GOY USES. IT MOR GOY INTENTIONHJO
CHANGE COURSE BUT TO ANALYZE SITUATION: SHOULD IT FIND
AFTER DETAILED DISCUSSION THAT NPT DOES NOT FULFILL ITS
NEEDS IT WILL CONSIDER AS A FINAL STEP WITHDRAWAL FROM
NPT. BUT KRIVOKAPIC EMPHASIZED YUGOSLAVIA WOULD NOT
WITHDRAW FROM NPT IF TREATY ACCOMPLISHES ITS GOALS
PREVENTING HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL PROLIFERATION OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PROMOTES DISARMAMENT AND TRANSFER OF
NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. BUT IF AFTER
A FEW MORE YEARS THESE GOALS NOT REALIZED GOY MIGHT HAVE
TO CONSIDER ABROGATION. HE NOTED THAT AT PRESENT A
NUMBER OF COUNTRIES HAVE THE TECHNOLOGY FOR QUICKLY
ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY, E.G., JAPAN, THE FRG,
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ITALY, BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA. CHINA APPEARS PREPARED TO
SELL NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. INDIA HAS ACQUIRED NUCLEAR
CAPABILITY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES BUT IT COULD
EASILY DIVERT THIS TECHNOLOGY TO MILITARY APPLICATIONS IN
THE FUTURE. THE POINT HAS BEEN REACHED THAT INTERNATIONAL
HERALD TRIBUNE RECENTLY WROTE THAT TWO OR THREE KNOWLEDGEABLE
PERSONS COULD BUILD THEIR OWN ATOMIC BOMB. IF ITALY BUILDS
THEIR OWN ATOMIC BOMB. IF ITALY BUILDS

TWENTY NUCLEAR REACTORS AS PART OF ITS PROGRAM TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR ENERGY SOURCES, WHO WILL CONTTROL HOW THEY ARE USED? ALTHOUGH THE LDC'S ARE NOT DEVELOPING NUCLEAR JWEAPONS, EACH TIME THERE IS A NEW NUCLEAR PROLIXKRATION A WAVE OF HYSTERIA RUNS THROUGH THEM.

4. KRIVOKAIC STATED YUGOSLAVIA'S PRIMARY CONCERN IS SECURITY. IT SIGNED NPT AND IT HAS RIGHT TO DEMAND ASSURANCES FROM NWS THAT THEY WILL NOT USE THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON YUGOSLAVIA. SOVIETS TRY TO AVOID THEI SUBJECT, HE SAID. THEIR POSITION IS THAT THE WARSAW PACT PROVIDES ITS MEMBERS SECURITY AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK. THE SOVIETS TELL THE YUGSLAVS THAT IF THEY WANT SECURITY AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE SHOULD JOIN THE WARSAW PACT. BUT, AUSTRIA AND SWEDEN ARE NOT MEMBERS OF MILITARY BLOCS, AND NIEIGHTER IS YUGOSLAVIA. GIVE US GUARANTEES THAT YOU WILL NOT ATTACK US WITH YOUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNTIL WE HAVE DISARMAMENT, HE URGED. DCM POINTED OUT THAT POSSIBILITY US WOULD EMPLOY NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A MILITARY CONFRONTATION COULD ALSO BE HELPFUL TO NON-NATO COUNTRIES. KRIVOKAPIC STATE ULTIMATELY NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO REDUCE SECURITY OF OTHER COUNTRIES. THAT IS WHY YUGOSLAVIA ENVISAGES THE DISINTEGRATION OF MILITARY BLOCS AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD DISARMAMENT. DCM RAISED SECRETARY MINIC'S RECENT REFERENCE TO YUGOSLAV INIATIVES FOR CONVENING WORLD DISARMAMENT

CONFERENCE. KRIVOKAPIC SAID THAT THE IDEA IS NOT NEW. GOY WANTS TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR CONVENING A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE ALTHOUGH IT HAS NO TIMETABLE IN MIND. GOY WILL SEEK THE AGREEMENT OF THE NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LIMA TO PLACE THE QUESTION ON THE UNGA AGENDA THIS FALL. POSSIBLE CONFERENCE COULD BE SUBJECT

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OF A FIVE TO SIX DAY SPECIAL SESSION NEXT YEAR, IN WHICH MILITARY QUESTIONS, CONFERENCE AGENDA, DATES, AND METHODS WOULD BE DISCUSSED. ASKED WHICH HE THOUGHT MORE LIKELY TO COME FIRST, KRIVOKAPIC SAID HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO HAVE THE SPECIAL SESSION FIRST SO AS TO SET CLEARER GUIDELINES FOR THE WDC.

5. DCM STATED THAT SALT I AND II ARE MAKING STEP-BY-STEP PROGRESS IN LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS. KRIVOKAPIC SAID HE WOULD WELCOME AN OCCASIONAL BRIEFING ON THE TALKS. YUGOSLAVIA KNOWS SOVIET UNION HAS AN INFLUENCE AT SALT BUT FRANCE, CHINA AND OTHER NWS ARE NOT INVOLVED. ALTHOUGH FRANCE IS FAR BEHIND THE US IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT AND CHINA IS ONLY AT THE BEGINNING, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO EXERT PRESSURE ON COUNTRIES WHICH ARE JUST ACQUIRING

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY. THIS CANNOT BE DONE IF THE GREAT POWERS ACCEPT HIGH LEVELS OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENT.

6. DCM NOTED THAT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ARE ALSO IMPORTANT IN REDUCTION OF TENSIONS. AGREEING, KRIVOKAPIC STATED THAT DISARMAMENT , SECURITY , MILITARY BLOCS AND SIMILAR QUESTONS ARE ALL RELATED TO A SERIES OF WORLD PROBLEMS. POLITICAL DETENTE IS INDIVISIBLE FROM MILITARY DETENTE. IF SOMETHING IS NOT DONE TO STOP THE ARMS RACE, YUGOSLAVIA SEES NO END TO IT. IT KNOWS THAT NO WEAPONS WILL COMPLETELY PROTECT IT. ONE COUNTRY ACQUIRES MIRV'S AND ANOTHER GETS THEM, AND SO IT GOES. MEANWHILE , EXPENDITURES ON ARMS CONTINUE TO ESCALATE. THE BIG COUNTRIES CAN MANAGE, BUT EC SMALL COUNTRY LIKE YUGOSLAVIA FINDS THE COST OF WEAPONS UNBEARABLE.

COMMENT: JUST AS IT CLEAR FROM FOREGOING THAT YUGOSLAVS NOT ON VERGE OF WITHDRAWING FROM NPT, IT EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THEY WILL EXERT MAXIMUM LEVERAGE TO GAIN CONTROL OVER A VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH THEY PERCEIVE AS BASIC THREAT TO THEIR SECURITY. (IN THIS CONNDXTION LU HAVE REQUESTED DOD TO LAUNCH NEW STUDY OF NUCLEAR THREAT TO YUGOSLAVIA.) MOVE FROM NPT REQIEW CONFERENCE TO WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE OBVIOUSLY DUE TO FACT YUGOSLAVS WOULD HAVE GREATER INFLUENCE IN SUCH A THIRD WORLD DOMINATED FORUM. FINALLY, THIS IDEA ISSUE
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FOR NON-ALIGNED VENT RIGHTEOUS WRATH AGAINST SUPER-POWERS IN THEIR OVERALL DRIVE TO WEAKEN THE LATTER AND GET A BIGGER PIECE OF THE WORLD'S ACTION.
SILBERMAN

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